
THE
C R I S I S;
OR,
IMMEDIATE CONCERNMENTS
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

[Price Eighteen-Pence.]

ERRATA.

- Page 22. line 18. *for extinguished read distinguished.*
51. 19. *for Farmers read Tithe Farmers.*
67. 5. *for property read prosperity.*

THE
C R I S I S;

OR,

IMMEDIATE CONCERNMENTS

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.

"DATA TEMPORE PROSUNT."

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. DILLY : SOLD ALSO BY R. FAULDER,
NEW BOND-STREET; AND J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY.

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AS the deliberations of Parliament, in England and in Ireland, are at this present period employed on objects, which partly constitute the subjects of those observations, the Author, sacrificing all private considerations to public utility, submits his thoughts to the People, without that method and arrangement which must occasion delay. His first object is the good of the Empire.



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C R I S I S, &c.

BRITAIN is arrived at a crisis, whence she must experience a destiny of exaltation or abasement.

While we are reasoning on those future events, we shall call in the aid of past and the guidance of present times. And while we are consulting for Britain, our views shall be extended over the Universe.

We mean not to collect the principles of political life merely within the heart of the Empire, but to diffuse them over its most distant members. For to prove serviceable to mankind, is a condition of our nature, which is coeval with our birth, and terminates but with our existence. It is a national duty. It is an universal debt. It is a Godlike occupation, in which the Divinity hath instructed us.

The decline of National importance, whatever be the cause, is always accompanied with inaction. But to animate it with a spirit of industry, is to rouse it to its salvation. For not only the lassitude

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of long decay, or the consternation of sudden abasement, may be thus removed, but its former greatness and elevation be regained. As industry is the support of trade, trade and commerce are the spring to industry.

The importance of commerce is established by its effects. From the past times of Phœnicia to the present days of Holland, the Rise and Fall of Nations have depended on its increase and decline. Antwerp and Pisa are proofs in the intermediate period. But without exploring the deep recesses of antiquity, or tracing the progress of distant countries, we need only survey the languid state of Britain previous to the reign of Edward the Third, and then view that splendor, opulence and power, to which she had been exalted by commerce, on the death of Queen Elizabeth. A woman, whose capacious and enthusiastic soul inspired the body of the Nation, moving it to wise and exalted undertakings.

From the time of William the Conqueror, to the happy period of Elizabeth's accession, the state of commerce may be called low and contracted. During her time, the spirit of adventure made many discoveries. These opened a wide range for genius and enterprize, and rewarded industry with rich returns. Then it was too, that the wisdom of Government kept alive, by a generous support, an ardor, that was kindled in the minds of men. The consequence was unrivalled greatness.

To

To trade, also, did France stand indebted for that exorbitant power, with which Lewis the Fourteenth threatened the liberties of Europe.

The first general principle of trade is probity. It forms the foundation of a lasting union. If this be invaded, it breaks off commerce between the parties; and the habits of injustice, having corrupted their principles, incapacitate them for the future pursuits of honest traffic. Where there cannot be a mutual confidence, there is an end to trade.

When we consider the trade of Britain, we should wish to see her rather a compact than an extended Empire; populous and powerful within; and with a navy well maintained and ready for action without. For a wise Government not only watches the inclinations of its own subjects, consults the genius of other Nations, and hearkens to the times; observing the biases of men, and season of things; but that counsellor, whose voice speaks aloud to all, should be its guide. By our relative situation on the globe, Nature points out the line of commerce, and the mode of safety. She declares, "fixed in a watery element, Britain, your wealth
"and your preservation is a navy." Like the lance of Telephus, which could kill or cure, it prolongs our existence, while it destroys our enemies.

The sea courts us to commerce; she protects us by her waters. Her deep constitutes our aggrandizement,

dizement, our subsistence, and our safety. The winds are our assistants; the waters our friend; and the earth our benefactor. All the elements, that arose from chaos to be a blessing or a curse to man, contribute to the succour and the support of Britain.

Providence hath endowed us with stores for commerce, provisions for life, and remedies for disease. Numerous and salutary are the plants produced by our soil; whose efficacy is unheeded, and unknown, except by the vulgar and ignorant part of society. Nay, the illiberal habit of profession too, is not only to involve science in mysterious secrecy, but to refine knowledge into the depths of barbarous obscurity, instead of simplifying and disclosing it to mankind.

As, among their cardinal objects, commercial Nations rank wealth and population first, Britain should consider, that ships bring in men and money, advancing population, and increasing circulation. Whereas fortified walls require men and money, waste both, and consume provisions; yet the latter is the absurd system of the day.

But without the protection of a navy we cannot hope for trade. Our commerce and our navy also are so naturally allied, that we cannot have a navy without trade. We therefore should direct the pursuits of the one to the advantage of the other. We should maintain that commerce which affords the highest support to our navy. It might be
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added that, we should prefer a trade with those countries that strengthen our navy, not weaken it by the destruction of our sailors. The Eastern commerce is attended with a greater loss of men to Britain, than to any other European Nation. And those, who do return, are, from their excessive wealth, devoted to scenes of luxury and dissipation, or are, from the heat of climate, so enervated as to be rendered incapable of active or laborious employments. Industry therefore is wounded on every side, through the loss, the hasty aggrandizement, or the decay of her sons. A zealous advocate would proceed farther and say that, a trade, which tends more to the improvement of our own manufactures, than to bring in tides of ill-gotten wealth, claims our preference. But to counterbalance all those points, a satisfactory mode will be submitted hereafter.

The navy of Britain is like a lofty mountain, whence man may command the earth, and which, while it rises in superior majesty, renders its surrounding plains productive. If therefore our views are directed to the support of this navy, which is the support of commerce, we should never lose sight of our fisheries.

Yet how excessive was the folly, how weak and extraordinary the bigotry of Charles the First. Under the disguise of supplying an English convent in France, during the time of Lent, the French imposed on the credulous Monarch, and obtained
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a permission to fish on the banks of Newfoundland.

The late provisional articles contain the following particular :---“ The American fishermen shall have liberty to dry, and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalene Islands, and Labradore, so long as the same shall remain unsettled.” It is impossible to accomplish every wish ; and it would be presumption to censure concessions, without considering the object to be gained by them, and a multitude of concomitant circumstances.

The Swedish Nation, conscious of the importance of a fishery, bent all their thoughts toward that of Herrings, the moment they acquired a skill in navigation. And this not only promoted their experience and improvement in naval affairs, but it became a mine of commercial wealth. In 1740, their fisheries commenced, and in 1770, their annual produce was estimated at 175,000*l*. Holland exhibits a reverse. Loaded by taxes, her fisheries decline, and her navigation suffers. The Northern coasts of Ireland abound with fish, and invite us to this source of naval strength, and treasure. Here Nature opens one hand more liberally, as soon as we are deprived of the bounty of another, by a competition in America. But this competition is more than compensated, by the erection of this new empire. This revolution was an effect, which every man must have

have foreseen from an union of both natural and moral causes.

That Britain should govern America, whose sentiments and dispositions rendered her averse from subjection, would be the weak to bind the strong in opposition to their will, and the great to become subordinate to the little. For when America was dependent on Britain, the principal object became a cypher in a view of the Empire.

Every power is weakened by an extent of possessions, and by their remote distance from each other. To curb the insolence of an enemy, strength should be collected; if it be extended, weakness affords openings for assault every where, and sufficient force to repel it is no where. Britain and her territories were as a tree, whose far-extended and unwieldy branches exhibit, separately, a magnitude superior to that of the trunk. Hence they draw their nutriment, and sap their supporter, without an adequate return of fruit. The mode of preservation is, to lop off those huge branches, and to sacrifice that idle shew of majesty to real good.

The empire of Britain, by its great extent, afforded objects for ambitious glory, or avaricious conquest; and exposed the possessors to constant war. Extensive conquests are surely the curse of slaughter, not the blessing of victory. In the moment of strength, and spirit, we feel ourselves equal to undertakings of weight and magnitude.

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But the spirit and the strength of Samson perished in the accomplishment of his efforts.

Subject therefore to all the approaches of war by an extent of Empire, Britain cannot desire what must be the source of broils and eternal animosity. She is a power to be supported by trade ; and trade and industry are the children of peace. Commerce is no longer guided by chance ; it is sought with avidity ; and its arrangements are formed with wisdom. It is adopted by great Empires in their systems of government. And as Nations, in their collective state, are not touched by the finer feelings, or roused by the strong and revengeful passions of human nature, but always hearken to those dictates of sound policy, which proclaim aloud the good of the subject, Britain may not deplore the dismemberment of the American States ; for they must court British connections for their own commercial advantages.

And here let the most rigid support of our navigation laws be urged. This will multiply our naval artificers at home ; it will increase the number of our sailors abroad ; and it will thereby counteract the loss, which we might sustain in the last particular, by the separation of the States from the Empire. If the systems of Britain be formed by sound policy, her disunion from America can be converted into a source of numberless benefits. Her marine power can be exalted ; her commercial

commercial interests be augmented; and her blood and treasure be saved. The whole current of West-India commerce will be turned to her enrichment, and not be diminished by flowing through the American States. Allied only by a commercial connexion, we shall be no longer exhausted by their civil establishment and protection. The civil establishment amounted annually to 370,000 l. And enormous, indeed, were those debts, incurred by Britain in the protection of those distant territories, and in the maintenance of a monopoly in their productions. Thus too will a supineness be banished, which, in some measure, invaded the artificers of Britain. And industry and genius will flourish on emulation. It is the ardor of emulation, which kindles up the flame of genius in rival nations. While an exclusion of other people from any pursuit, begets a security in the one who possesses the monopoly, and brings on a shameful stupidity and stagnation in the minds and bodies of both. Our industry, therefore, will be roused at home, as it will undoubtedly retain to us the treasures of America, while the revolution hath disburthened us of its expences.

This revolution was originally founded, on the interdiction of trade, between the British provinces and other empires. This was the hinge on which it hung. But when taxation arrived, and demanded admittance, war and anarchy flew out.

Britain would have forced, by a compulsive power, what generosity, even without persuasion, must have paid as a just debt, on a proper demand. Freed from formidable adversaries, enabled by the liberality of Britain to cultivate desert tracts, improved in all her productions by the encouragement of the mother country, America owed much to such a parent, such a deliverer, and such a preserver. We elevated her to power by our blood and treasure, and in our attempts to depress her, we have exhausted both. Her origin, from nothing into something, and her exaltation, from something into greatness, have been at our expence. But let us consider the result of this expence.

In the year 1766, the calculation of American consumption amounted to 4,725,000 l. annually. Our debts were accumulated in her service to the sum of 145,687,500 l. which paid an annual interest of 4,881,515 l. 3 s. 9 d. So that the interest of the debt exceeded the whole consumption yearly 156,515 l. 3 s. 9 d. Now we are freed from the possibility of multiplying our debts, in similar services, and we have every * certainty of commanding three fourths of the American commerce. Surely our last state, therefore, is superior to our first. Detached too, from America, and disengaged, from that centre, around which all our movements were limited, we can pursue our interests,

* Vide Sheffield on Commerce, 6th edition. Appendix, p. 319

terests, and punish our enemies in other quarters of the globe. Our former attention to America suffered the jealousy of our foes to obscure our successes elsewhere. Our treasury freed from the load of American incumbrances, our arms unoccupied by struggles within or jealousy without, all the efforts of Britain can be directed to one point. Let France, let Spain, let Holland hearken to this ! But hear farther, you unwise Nations ! your envy of Britain hath not only loosened her rage against you, but the very Power, supported by your treachery, will become the instrument of your own punishment. Your territories and your trade are divided from theirs by the hand of power, though closely allied by the order of nature. But it is the part of power to oppose power ; and it is the part of liberty, to humble the cruel influence of arbitrary sway, and to abolish tyranny. The States of America will be prompted, by ambition as strongly as by principle, and will be invited by man, as they are enabled by nature, to free the neighbouring possessions of absolute Monarchs from the yoke. Ignorance and slavery are mutually cause and effect. With the one the other passes away. Those colonies therefore, roused by the example, and aided by the arms of the American States, will themselves tear off their bonds. Or as the spirit of dissatisfaction ever inspires a desire for change, and as slaves care not who is their master, they will exult at, and facilitate

tate the measures of ambition. The banners of conquerors will seem to them standards of freedom, around which they will flock; for when liberty interferes, slaves hope to become men. The severity of masters, and the rigor of unjust authority, arise on their remembrance, while their minds are filled with reflections on general freedom, and impartial laws. Reason and revenge prompt them to a subversion of their state; and while slavery kindles into enthusiasm, and through a hope of social equality admits succour, it receives success. Far separated too from you, the thunderbolt will fall, and the voice of it be not heard.

Rivals of Britain! you meant to oppress her! But you have disengaged that arm, which was occupied in the protection of America; you have raised up a more formidable foe in her room; and you have set her treasures, and her strength, at liberty to wreak vengeance on you, for past, or future insults, and injuries.

By the same jealousy hath her trade been benefited. A trade that, while it increases the internal riches of the nation, will promote and improve population; that, while its returns animate the spirit of commerce, will be a nurse, to train up growing succours for our navy. How eminently superior is it in its system to that commerce, whose principles are fraud and cunning. When virtue and honor are sacrificed for the acquisition of wealth, in order to support prodigality, or to indulge
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in dissipation. When soldiers become merchants, relinquishing the principles of war for systems of cruelty and avarice. When the honor of their profession is humbled by those who should maintain it, and all its glory is bartered for gold. Through the medium of this commerce, does luxury breathe its baneful influence on us. Like whirlwinds that rife one place, and raise heaps in another, fortunes are as quickly collected in the East, and as quickly dissipated in Europe. Those imported plunderers corrupt us with luxury and cruelty. Example absorbs the rich within licentiousness, and encourages the desperate to rapaciousness. For, there is the resort of the desperate, and the unprincipled part of mankind; who, having accumulated treasure, and standing indebted to their vices for their acquisitions, return, as avenging pestilences sent to blast the nation, that protects them in their sins. But what is their money, what are their diamonds? Was there no drop of blood shed to dim their lustre? Was there no act of injustice used to render those loads of money oppressive? During all this rich display to the view, is there no secret poison within? It were well, if they partook not of the quality of other productions of that zone, whence they come! Money is not wealth to Britain; it is but the sign of that reality which is constituted by agriculture and manufactures; and in a commercial Nation, this sign, without the reality, is a symptom of death.

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But how stands the statement of this commerce, with reference to military and marine advantages? We mention not the immorality, imbibed by the lower orders from the depraved examples of their superiors: but we lament, that the flower of the youths of Britain is consumed; that they return oppressed with all the imbecility of premature old age; or that the East is their grave.

But though avarice, venality, and corruption, increase with riches, they may be counterpoised. Though population suffers in the pursuit of this trade, there are only proper and wise regulations wanted at home, and abroad, to render this commerce more than adequate to our losses. The times have rung with the terms, Injustice and Aristocracy, which have been applied to some late propositions, in respect to the East. Both sounds are equally disrespectful and odious. But the voice of clamour is not always excited by truth. Unconnected with any party, and unheated by any other zeal than that which we feel for the Nation, we shall speak with respect, but without fear.

Our East-India Company, in their infancy, when disappointed and unsupported, through the weakness of James the First, established, by their own activity and wisdom, various settlements. Conscious of private emolument, which branched out into public advantage, that interested the Nation, they erected forts, and founded colonies. Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda, were turned
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into a current of public wealth at their private expence; and the monopolizing and tenacious Dutch, who had driven the Portuguese from the spice islands, were compelled to share this traffic with Britain. It is true, that Portugal arrived at an important height in commerce, before her chartered companies were established: but she has not suffered most from this absurd system. Would it be prudent therefore, by a violation of charters, to lay the foundation of an Aristocracy on the ruins of our East-India Company? An Aristocracy is a dangerous engine in any government; but when it is invested with power as the guardian of commerce, and is appointed by the Monarch, or by the authority of Parliament, it becomes a double-headed monster.

The spring of commerce is gain, and its maxim should be œconomy. But if the guardians of commerce have not an interest in its gain, they will not enforce the principles of œconomy. The interest of the Directors grows with the interest of the commerce, and perishes with its decay. The interest of the Aristocracy is, but to receive the wages, perhaps, of corruption, after having performed the part of a tool, in infringing on the rights and power of the company, without any regard to the improvement of commerce. Instead of merchants, who are in habits of business and industry, an Aristocracy, who are ignorant of the principles and the practices of trade, whose system
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of life is dissipation and political fraud, commit their affairs to a secretary at home, and rapacious governors abroad. The governor is neither just nor economical ; but he is befriended by power ; therefore is the secretary blind.

No man should possess a directing power over this commerce, except him, whose labours would be roused, by motives mutually advantageous to himself and the trade ; whose exertions would be rewarded by his gain ; and whose interest therefore transfuse his spirit of activity and œconomy throughout all the inferior departments. Let the Directors be the executive power of this commercial establishment ; let the Parliament be its legislature. In mechanics one wheel facilitates the operations of the whole system. Let the Legislature be that wheel to the Directors. And, as the moving force should be proportioned to the distance of the resisting power from the centre, a wise and numerous body will be a strong acquisition toward the government of the East. Often from a scarcity of hands, and sometimes for want of a pilot, have many ships perished.

The Legislature is the heart of this nation. Its sound and wholesome laws diffuse vigor throughout the whole empire ; or they return corrupted, and destructive to that source, whence they first originated.

Wise and rigid laws, therefore, should be instituted to bind up the hands of the commercial
Republic

Republic from fraud and rapine, and their execution should be watched with a vigilant eye. Thus will there be many guardians, instead of a few, if free inspection into transactions be permitted to all. They will strongly oppose the spirit for territorial conquest; wisely considering the number of soldiers and consequent expence, that await the preservation of extended dominion. What redoubled numbers must be raised in this country; must be transported; must be maintained, to replace the ravages of the grave, which is swallowing every fresh supply, within its rapacious jaws. If we observe the influence too, of distant possessions on this country, we shall agree that, absolute Monarchies are better calculated for remote and extended conquests, than free States. For in those monarchies, one will govern, and faction dares not to impeach it. In free States, distant governments are the ground of numberless accusations, and supply with food the rage of party at home. Parties are like those bodies of vapors that, serve as conductors to electric fire, which, arising from earth, seems to inflame the heavens, but enlightens mankind.

But let us survey an absolute Monarchy. What effect have her conquests, in the new world, had on Spain? How extended, how multiplied her territories! yet how weak, and how defenceless! Where a sanguinary system hath depopulated regions, and where, instead of awaiting the honest

returns of trade, she has ravished, with lawless hands, treasures that, render her rich, luxurious, servile, and supine at home. Spain discovered America when, as in the strength of noon-tide vigor, she was exalted above Europe, and her glory became a terror to its nations. But, since that period, she hath sunk into indolent obscurity. And while she lies, growling over and guarding that, which she cannot herself consume, her own ruin is inevitable. Far, far be from Britain the systems of Spain, as to the acquisition or application of Empire, and of wealth. That Mammon in religion is a Mammon in politics ; it is as destructive to nations during time, as it is to individuals during eternity. Moral principle is sacrificed to it ; without which there can be no government. Luxury is raised up, industry is beat down, and all the active powers of soul and body are debilitated, if not destroyed, by this Dæmon to mankind in a personal, or in a social, view.

But let us recur to facts, in order to establish this general reasoning, on the detriment of wealth to society. That it begets idleness is apparent ; for in this Kingdom, the manufacture of cloth is departing from the South to the North ; as it were in consonance with the progress of all the arts, in respect to Europe. Yorkshire boasts now, not only its coarse cloths, but is becoming famous for those of a finer texture : while in the Southern provinces

provinces the manufacture is decaying. A reciprocation, of labor and recompence, is the main spring to industry, among men. But the recompence should be moderate; as it should not be scanty, neither should it be lavish. For if the labor of one day procure maintenance for seven, industry is at a stand for five. The labor of a second day will purchase the indulgence of riot and debauch; whereas, if the labor of six days but supply a support for seven days, how much more business will be executed for the Nation. Add also to the progress made in arts, during continued operations, that, in order to increase the felicity of families, fathers will promote industry among their almost infant children. The wages of the Dutch artisans are low: and hence are all ages employed to obtain, or to contribute toward their own subsistence. High wages in trade, are as pernicious, as payments in advance in commerce.

The island of Trinidad produced cocoa of the first perfection. Eager to obtain it, the Spanish merchants endeavoured to anticipate each other by paying in advance for it: but the proprietors, being in possession of so much money which, could be repaid but by unusual industry, dreaded the toil, and gave over all thoughts of labor; and since the year 1727 Trinidad hath furnished no more cocoa. This effect in commerce, is a lesson with
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which Spain furnishes us, to guard against its cause in trade also. But numerous are the instructions, which her connection with the new world affords us.

Here those hounds of war poisoned themselves by their prey. They glutted themselves with the blood of innocent men, and seized their treasures. Yet riches, like other poisons in the hands of a chymist, may be converted to the good of society. From gold it is granted that, luxurious vices originate. But by poverty too, are crimes produced. The specific against both is the reward of honest industry.

Spain preferred to honesty, and industry, tyranny and sanguinary measures, in the pursuits of avarice. But ambition defeats itself, for she has, by her conduct, laid a foundation for a revolution in the South. Anson saw it, but he extended his views too far. It were not for the interest of Britain, that Spain should be dispossessed of all the South. She devotes her subjects and her slaves to dig their own graves, in order to supply us with that metal which, they purchase at the expence of life ; because we take not only metal, but other commodities. Wonderful too is the change that, hath taken place, in the other Hemisphere, since the days of Anson. And the islands, discovered in the South Sea by our Admirals, open a broad and sure way to commercial treasures. Their vicinity to this continent connects

us with a traffic, which abounds in wealth. Should the Spaniards be averse from a laudable and equitable trade, the natives and their teachers are inspired, with an united and common revenge against their tyrants, which, they wait but for an opportunity to vent. The Jesuit feels the iron hand of persecution; and the groans, and the wounds of expiring thousands are still fresh to the enslaved American. But the same principle that was applied to the East, is to be adopted by Britain in respect to the universe. No distant and extended possessions should be formed. Let us recur to the East.

Our chartered company demands farther consideration. Their extensive powers are, almost liberty without restraint; and their exclusive privileges become a tyranny in commerce. But despotic power, and unbounded freedom in civil, religious, and political societies, terminate in equal consequences. Slave and usurper, despotism and thralldom, are unsure cements for a system. The voice of an injured people must be heard. The monopoly as loudly, as the sovereign power which, is lodged in our chartered company and delegated by them to rapacious individuals, calls for the interference of the State. As to that power with which, the company invests improper individuals; while it administers to plundering abroad, it protects itself at home. The Company cannot prosper
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under its present arrangements. It hath not prospered. And the State itself must finally be involved in the ruin arising from those circumstances. Yet were the State to assume the sovereign, and executive power of the company, it might either give birth to an Aristocracy, fatal to the liberty of the nation, or magnify the power of the monarch, beyond the support of the constitution. There is a medium wanted, between the present powers of the Company, and a supreme authority over it in the State. Their privileges also should be more closely connected with the interests of the nation, in order to prolong the existence of both. Through their exclusive rights, a latitude should be allowed for the spirit of enterprise in wealthy and commercial individuals. For monopoly is the devouring flames of Volcano, which, feeding on the bodies that give them birth, are distinguished but in their destruction.

Sometimes, monopoly hath relaxed the spirit, and granted licences to individuals to trade in the East. And hence have we discovered a multitude of benefits that are lost to this nation.

The silk imported from Italy is purchased with money. Beyond those limits in the East, to which, our chartered company trade, private traders report that, there are vast quantities of raw silk, and for which, our woollens and other commodities are taken in return. This Indian silk is of a quality superior

superior to the Italian ; and three pounds of it cost not more than one of Italian. Here then the private trader hath discovered by his enterprise, and pointed out the mode whereby, the advantages of the India trade may be increased, the disadvantages of the Italian be done away, and our silk manufactures be enabled to vie with those of other nations.

A consultation on commerce being called in France, a trade to the East Indies was proposed by some. Monsieur Colbert delivered his thoughts thus : “ To increase the riches of a Kingdom, we “ must find out manufactures to give employment “ to the poor, and work to the idle. Flax, silk, “ and wool, are therefore our objects.” We have both propositions united in one point. By our trade to the East, we can improve our silken, and encourage our woollen manufactures. And here we must pay a tribute to humanity, by applauding its operations while we endeavour to extend them into an improvement of trade.

A late institution, big with the spirit of benevolence and Christianity, hath made its appearance, swelling that numerous catalogue of charitable foundations, which are an honor to the present times, and the boast of Britain. A want of charity is not a vice of the day. This institution is the establishment of Sunday schools ; the basis of whose system is morality ; a strong foundation for a great
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and national superstructure. If men, endowed with property, and who can see into the future rewards of its application, or if counties at large, would undertake the erection of Silk manufactures, they have a noble model, in that Work-house which was established in London by the Quakers; where, unprotected orphans, and the children of the poor, being received, experience hath taught that, the employments of labor have been discharged with emulation; and those portions of time, appropriated to literary instruction, have been entered on, with an ardor and a desire to excel superior to that sanguine eagerness, with which, other children dissipate their hours in idle amusements. If the plan of Sunday schools was extended, and the children were employed in silk manufactures; and if China silk was imported in larger quantities, and mills were erected for throwing it into organzine; our money would not enrich foreign nations; our Eastern trade would be extended and our exports be increased; numbers would be employed; and, by being enabled to undersell most parts of Europe, we should draw large sums from Germany, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. Were it demanded to particularize a spot in England for a first attempt in this undertaking, Bath may be pointed out, where, with astonishment it is observed, there is no manufacture; where Nature has directed a river in its
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course, whose banks are peculiarly well adapted to the erection of silk mills, since its streams are never exhausted, and form a communication with the second trading city in the British Empire; and where too luxury is at the highest pitch, and its votaries are, in crowds, to purchase the necessities of vanity and ostentation.

But the erection of silk manufactories is a work of such magnitude that, its failure must crush individuals. Some persons in Bristol have suffered in the attempt. There is also an additional expence to check this manufacture when in its infancy. All the different departments not being supplied by the respective workmen, many of the silks must be sent to London, in order to be finished. There should be therefore, for the national good, some national support; there should be some aid, some incentive held forth to spur men from their supineness, and to attract them into bodies by personal interest. But let us return to that chartered Company, whose advantages would be hereby multiplied.

If the interests of that society are meant to be promoted, a regard must be paid to all its concerns; not only by the Nation to its superior arrangements, but by those, who fill those stations, to the subordinate departments. And by what hands soever the appointments of trust may be disposed, they should be dealt out, according to

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the principles, and the capability, not in proportion to the interest, of expectants. Numerous and as unnecessary are the services to be abolished; and with the most unrelenting severity should all violations of engagements be punished. Britain hath received a blow; and prudence should point out now, what prosperity was before regardless of. Our system of affairs is altered, and therefore new arrangements are become necessary. This conjuncture moves us to the state of new undertakings; and in all infant measures, the remoteness, and the prosperity of events, depend on the first steps. Our conquests, and our conduct, in a lost Empire, should inspire us with lessons of wisdom for the preservation of what is left. But no extended possessions should be added to the Empire; no outstretched territorial conquests be undertaken. Such conquests are defeats. They may tend to the aggrandizement of rapacious individuals, but they must work the ruin of the Nation. Ports for protection and refreshment, and settlements for commerce that suit the capacity of Britain, should bound our views. Such settlements, as will not drain the island for support, but will answer the purposes of commercial intercourse, becoming marts for the interchange of commodities, or the purchase of manufactures; and which, instead of exhausting, will enrich the Nation, by enriching individuals; whose wealth, whose trade, and whose example,

example, will tend to the improvement of our country, and its manufactures. And here let us deprecate a habit of trade, taken up by necessity, becoming a habit of gain, that will not be relinquished by avarice.

Thus avarice is rendered more avaricious, to the detriment of every commercial nation. By occupying the ground for enterprize, it destroys its spirit in others, excluding them from the field for invention, and operation; and by a long continuance in success, it exalts a train of posterity into a state of useless inactivity, placing them high above the revolutions of fortune. Fluctuations of property, and reverses of fortune, should form the prayer of Britain for her subjects. The Romans, whose views were, war and grandeur, not commerce and the changes necessary for a commercial State, framed laws agreeable to those principles, and Curators were appointed to prevent the dissipation, and the change of property. But our views are commerce. And by commerce, hath the Empire of Britain outrivalled that of Rome, as by its influence, the lowest subject of Britain is invested with a more extensive prerogative, than the highest citizen of Rome could boast. But as there is an equality established among mankind by common misfortunes, so there is between States by similar sufferings. What ruined Rome threatens Britain.

Parties are as those vertical winds, which are occasioned by heat, and by a division in the temperature of the atmosphere which, produce struggles for restitution. Here parties proceed against each other with an unparalleled inveteracy. And should just means for the overthrow of each other be wanting, jealousy, "that makes the meat it feeds on" supplies the rest. Dangerous, and domestic combinations abound, which render our operations, abroad, abortive; nor is the whole Empire free, from foreign and traiterous conspiracies. The sounds of arbitrary and aristocratic power, are dinned through the sister kingdom to alarm the subjects into anarchy and confusion. Some are branded with odium, for the design of reducing Majesty to a mere phantom of prerogative, while others are punished with as severe a sentence, for the intent of clothing Majesty with powers unknown to the Constitution. This is indeed a crisis. May the moderation and wisdom of the present times give stability to that freedom which, former factions and restless tyranny have produced; and may the good of posterity be fixed on an unalterable foundation. The former must be the work of men in power; the latter is the business of each individual without station. Let us endeavour to promote it.

But previous to an internal view of Britain, let us regard, for a moment, the system of Europe. It is advanced, by Paulo Paruta, that, since the decline
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of the Roman Empire, no other hath attained to her extraordinary elevation, because, the equilibrium of power is become a political maxim. Had Paulo Paruta, urged on by the spirit of prediction, foretold that, America, standing without the sphere of this balancing power, would rise to a more wonderful exaltation, we should bow to the prophet, and yield assent with a tribute of respect. It was this balancing power which, on the peace of Aix la Chapelle, restored to the house of Austria those territories, of which she had been deprived. Yet, says the great and celebrated Raynal, this reacquisition lulled the spirit of animosity which, might have been kindled against France. But let us pause a moment ! How did Charles the Fifth of Arragon extend his conquests but by the addition of power to power ? Or let us reverse our views. Should we wish for the overthrow of the French Monarchy ? It is the Carthage to Britain ! The safety of our neighbours often becomes the best barrier to our own. His companions being devoured, Ulysses was to have satisfied the hunger of the Cyclops. Let us apply this reasoning to another power.

The flames of war are nearly kindled between the Emperor and the Dutch States ; and Britain, it is believed, may derive a temporary advantage from the carrying trade, during the hostilities of those powers. But suppose the Provinces were subdued !

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It hath been asserted that, Britain would acquire further benefits: that inflamed, with ancient and present prejudices against the establishments of Germany, the Dutch would transplant their arts, their wealth, and their industry into this country. But forbid it Heaven! Such an incorporation would be more than counterbalanced by such a revolution. Since the treaty of Aix, Germany hath raised its head. It must be exalted much higher by a satisfaction of its claims. This leads us to a consideration of them.

The revolutions of Antwerp are worthy contemplation. The citizens of Bruges, rendered proud by the acquisition of wealth, felt themselves exalted above the busy habits of commerce, and sunk supinely into indolence. Hence Antwerp grew into opulence; and flourishing beneath the transition of trade, she obtained the palm of commerce in Europe. But, the persecutions of D'Alva shaking her from top to bottom, her citizens forsook her, and laid the foundation of the United Republic. Conscious of their exaltation which, arose from their trade and riches, they would oppress others, who aspired in the same pursuit. Like the Moon which, though it is indebted to the Sun for its own illumination, often intercepts its rays from enlightening the Earth. Those men turned against its parent, that power which, she had drawn into existence; and therefore was the
port

port of Antwerp shut. The sport of trade, which was her protector and her destroyer ; she owed her exaltation to its ruin in Bruges ; she owed her downfall to its uprise in Holland. And to open its port, and to establish trade there once more, will be to open a road, to many other and unforeseen revolutions. Or if, in the present contest, the Republic should be vanquished, and those avaricious men be banished, once more, from their seat of trade and monopoly, the Provinces would prove an inestimable jewel in the German crown. Look to it Europe ! The Emperor is active and vigorous. His rival too is on the decline. Those considerations open a new scene.

Suppose that he were afterward to be stripped of those Provinces ! For are there not plunderers abroad ? Are there not forgotten claims ? France is powerful ; Spain is only supine. But may slavery and rapine be unknown, from pole to pole ; and the blessings of liberty be boundless as the duration of time ! The happiness of mankind is, at once, a liberal and a selfish principle. Let us pursue it further.

In order to trace national objects worthy the consideration of Britain, we shall begin with that first foundation of its welfare, whereon its glory and its greatness must arise, which are constituted by internal wealth and population ; and agriculture is the basis of both. Industry succeeds to
agricul-

agriculture. But the production of materials, ranks, before the manufacturing of them, in their influence on wealth and population. Here political benefits are in harmony with the movements of nature. And though the debt of the Nation is so immense that, it threatens us with ruin, as a punishment for the injustice of past undertakings; though our manufactures, affected by this load of debt, are drooping and on the decline; yet agriculture, interior industry, and foreign trade, compose a pillar equal to our support.

Agriculture, not only increases the riches of a Nation, and increases and improves the race of men, by the promotion of industry, but it answers the demands of foreign importations, and animates our national commerce. But as to the population of Britain, the Marriage Act is its bane. For through its influence morality is corrupted; and lewdness and debauchery flourish beneath the sanction of the law. When the Republic of Rome had been ravaged, by a war of thirty years, Horace invoked Augustus, not to resign the sovereign authority, until he had restored the number of citizens. The Emperor hearkened to the Poet; and matrimony received encouragement under the latitude of the Julian law. But not only the numbers of our men are injured by the Marriage Act; their martial ardor is also damped by a tyrannical Game Law, which is inefficient as to its object,
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and is neither countenanced by nature, nor can be supported by reason. Thus languishes, by law, that military glory which, is inspired by the use of arms, and which forms men into a strong bulwark for their nation. But let us search out an antidote for the men of Britain against both those poisons. Agriculture produces it.

First should be undertaken the cultivation of the waste grounds ; next should be promoted an improvement of the culture of others, and also an increase of the productions of the soil.

Were parts of our waste grounds assigned to those men, who have served in our navy, and a share, proportionate to his rank, allotted to each, it would rid the public of a burthen, if not of a pestilence ; it would promote the internal wealth of the nation, and retain her sailors as a resource in the day of need. For during the dangers of war, they would be not only a refuge for our navy to insure our external safety, but they might partly constitute our internal security. Familiarised to death, every sailor is a soldier. In the times of peace too, who is more competent to the labor and the hardships of husbandry, than the sailor who, is inured to toil, and regardless of the severity of season and the transitions of weather ? Beside, would not those assemblages become naval schools ? where children will be inspired, by the narrations of their parents and friends, with knowledge, fortitude,

titude, and emulation. All which, national bounty could promote, by a trifling establishment for teachers of navigation. And the Legislature might include, among the terms of settlement, that, fathers should be bound by a clause to devote one or more sons to naval pursuits.

It hath been complained that, the capital is become too large and overgrown for the nation. But this is easily obviated. Cultivate the waste grounds, and it will operate as if nature had removed the sea from its possessions, in order to extend the limits of your island. A skilful architect proportions his base to his capital. And should a statuary possess the head of a Colossus, he could not madly hope to support it on a slender body.

To cultivate those grounds is, conquest without blood shedding; it is the possessing of provinces without depopulation, and the establishing of colonies without expence, but of sure advantage to the nation. The Hebrides too claim the attention of Parliament. Those islands are reported to be equal in extent to the United Provinces. Let the spirit of colonization settle there. Hitherto it hath been a weak and childish desire of novelty. A capricious principle of acquiring something unpossessed, which, under the shew of enriching, impoverished this nation. Thus vanity lavishes its treasures on ostentation, and its poverty increases with its splendor. Those seeds, that were scattered
over

over distant and inhospitable climates, during that wild period which was under the influence of chimeras of colonization, would have produced much fruit at home. But the storms of America may have dissipated those phantoms, as it hath freed the Empire from noxious bodies. America was the central point, toward which, every regulation, every thing tended. But repulsion hath succeeded to attraction. And again must succeed attraction on our part. For, notwithstanding false rumour and unfounded assertion, her connection hath not been so valuable to us, as ours must prove to her. She will court our commerce. Let us strengthen the spring to its improvement.

By converting our waste grounds to the purposes of agriculture, they become as fresh acquisitions to this Island, whereby we supply it with additional sources. What, God and Nature have bountifully offered to us, we have unwisely disregarded. As well might those lands have remained buried in the original chaos of confusion, or be overwhelmed by the waters. While whole provinces might be cultivated at home, we commit ourselves as a sport to the elements, exploring every desert and dangerous climate on the globe. And while we seek for support, we fall victims to destruction. We range abroad too for the price of provisions; but we do not consider that, by extending agriculture, we could diminish their expence at home; that our manu-

manufactures, therefore, could be sold at a reduced rate; that we should, consequently, be enabled to undersell our rivals; that the demands for our manufactures must of course increase; that, the improvement of all mechanic arts must necessarily take place; that, by this progress in our mechanic arts, the numbers in our workshops must be doubled; and that, in proportion to this universal encouragement, must the indigenous commodities be multiplied, and the whole system form a connected scene of industry, wealth, and happiness, blessing and exalting this nation. In short, agriculture is the main spring to put all those co-operating powers in motion, that tend to the population and the prosperity of this Island. And, agriculture and population are like the ocean and the rivers, which mutually supply each other. For agriculture promotes population, by invigorating the bodies of men, and by furnishing food for an increased progeny; and population promotes agriculture, by the consumption of the fruits of the earth. Agriculture gives existence to the landed interest, population is its support.

The landed interest of Britain is at this moment oppressed. But a good man hath consulted for its safety. In 1782, the poor-rates amounted to 3,800,000 l. By a system submitted to the public, Doctor Pew provides 3,515,115 l. His scheme promises relief to the landed interest, stability to public

public credit, and a promotion of population. By it industry would be increased, and idleness and indolence, while they were scorned, would be remedied. Those are objects of the greatest magnitude to this nation; and to endeavour to establish them commands attention and praise. Yet far be it from our mind, to infringe on the liberty, or the property, of the meanest subject, by directing his application of it, or by raising up a bar against its abuse. The prohibition of poverty, by law, from him who, deserves the punishment of contempt for his folly, were a weak atonement for an assault on sacred and universal freedom. This would be contrary to the spirit of salvation, whereby one became a victim for multitudes, but multitudes were not sacrificed to save a few.

If the Legislature direct their attention to a simple scheme, the landed interest may be eased. Let Parochial Insurance Offices be established, and the annual income of them be devoted to the support of the poor. The profits of Insuring Societies are avowed, by the rapid increase of such Institutions, though they are subject to villainous frauds. But by the Parochial Institutions, each man will be interested, to check the ravages of fire, and to detect the infamy of his neighbour; because, the amount of the damage sustained, will be levied on the whole parish. And on account of this superior security, all persons, who insure, will resort to the Parochial Office. Thus the income will be immense,

menſe, the loſs trivial, and the poor be ſupported without burdening the rich. For what numbers of our diſbanded ſoldiers, what numbers of men of all deſcriptions, are dependent on the pariſhes ! What crowds of women and children too ! All of whom, inſtead of hanging as an oppreſſive weight on ſociety, might be uſefully employed, were we to increaſe the productions of the earth. By the cultivation of flax and hemp, we could unite agriculture and induſtry to free us from the fetters of poverty. Here the Parliament ſhould ſtep forward. Their liberality will be œconomy ; and their generoſity be rewarded an hundred fold. The earth will give wealth to the ſubject, and its productions ſtability to the State. For the great revolution in the American Hemisphere, which may bring forth other events that, are not perhaps remote, though they be unſeen, renders it highly incumbent on Britain to attend, not only to the acquiſitions of Empire at home, by the cultivation of unoccupied land, but to the productions of her ſoil.

When Britain furniſhed her navy from the Baltic, it gave riſe to an avaricious monopoly in Sweden, in the year 1703, and to a convention among all the northern nations, in 1718, whereby, every reſtrictive clauſe was laid upon the exportation of marine ſtores, that could tend to enhance their price. Hence England turned her view to the woods, and to the ground of America, for timber, and for canvas ; and ſhortly became enabled

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to supply the nations around her. Some of those American sources are now cut off. But she possesses within her own limits, vast and melancholy tracts of fresh soil. The cultivation of which would afford occupation to thousands who are unemployed; the returns of which would furnish ships for our seas, and canvas for our ships. For benevolent nature hath adapted different parts of the earth to different productions. In some soils and situations, woods afford the richest return; in other tracts, flax and hemp are most profitable. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales too, hold out an ample scope for the promotion of those schemes, and their own improvement. Formerly, there were two objections made against the cultivation of flax and hemp in this country. First, that lands were too dear. To this, let the waste grounds be opposed. Next, that our cloths were not of so fine a texture, and of so bright a colour, as those of warmer climates. This last objection, the texture and the colour of the Irish linens will defeat. But in order to improve their colour, a pernicious custom hath taken place in that Island, which, if not stopped, must ruin her linen trade. It is bleaching on the hills with lime, instead of in the valleys with water. The consequence is that, when the garments, made of those linens, are immersed in water, they dissolve in holes.

Another objection hath been made against the growing of flax: that it would impoverish our rich
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lands in England. The soil of Ireland is as rich as that of England. Why then do they grow flax? Because, the people of Ireland wisely counteract this impoverishing effect, and at the same time provide themselves with a supply for the future, by first raising a crop of potatoes; the preparation for which enriches the land, and enables it to produce corn after it hath afforded its crop of flax. Were the cultivation of flax and hemp promoted, our navy could be partly supplied, foreign importations would be lessened, our poor could be employed, and the rich be relieved from the enormous expence of their support. For if we have one million of poor, and we suppose that, each person, under the care of an overseer, were to earn two-pence per day; and that there were in the year three hundred days devoted to employment, a sum of 2,500,000 l. would be produced annually. In order to draw those benefits into existence, it naturally occurs that, the importation of hemp should receive an immediate check. But at present the duties on hemp should not be increased. Nor can policy subscribe to the entire abolition of those duties, as advised by Lord Sheffield. It would be death to all our hopes. That competition, which he dreads between Russia and Britain, in the supply of cordage sent to the American market, is not of sufficient importance to induce us to surrender our projects. This would be a sacrifice of a sure advantage to ward off a contingent evil.

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The maritime power of Britain can and must flourish with such wise systems, and neither be crushed by the monopolizing spirit of a second Northern convention, nor languish beneath all the consequences attendant on the dismemberment of America. As to the supply, which our navy drew from the States, our remaining possessions are more than adequate to it. But in order to secure those Colonies, their government should, immediately, be established on a permanent foundation. A freedom of constitution, and a system of sound laws, may prove an eternal bar to any revolution, from a revolt within, and perhaps from a conquest without. This object claims our highest attention, because the interest of our navy is also united with it.

Formerly the boldest and most enterprising views of Britain might have been clouded by an interference of the Northern Nations of Europe. To Norway, Sweden, and Russia, did she stand obliged for a supply of iron. But America relieved her navy from this dependance. When the States were in our possession, we might have supplied the coast of Africa within and without the Mediterranean, Turkey, Italy, Portugal, and the East Indies, with iron. But though the mistakes of Parliament, and the misconduct of individuals, have deprived us of those prospects, yet we are equal to the supply of our own necessities. An objection arose to this, in Britain, from the

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scarcity of woodlands. But this is removable by the use of coke. The practice of making iron by means of coke instead of charcoal, being forwarded by the reduction of coke* to half its present expence; the late improvements† throughout the whole process of our iron works, in respect to the art of making and working iron, of making bar iron from pig iron, either red-short or cold-short, and in respect to the steam‡ engines being established, the commerce and the navy of Britain will flourish. They will rear their heads, as does drooping nature, when renovated into strength and power. But would not the importation of iron, free from duty, counteract this, and hold out encouragement to a rival? It is true that, the importation of raw materials gives employment to our manufacturers; but the raising of those materials gives birth to previous industry also; it prevents foreign monopoly, removes our dependance, and turns the balance of trade in our favor. The opinion of Lord Sheffield claims respect, and is of high authority. But still reason and judgment must withhold their assent. The objects of rivalry are honor or profit. And no nation should facilitate her loss of either. The attention of Britain is called, therefore, to that competition

* Discovered by Lord Dundonald.

† By Mr. Cort.

‡ By Messrs. Watt and Bolton.

tition in iron works, which other Nations are supported in by her supply of coals.

Vain is that dreadful sentence pronounced against our empire of the sea. That it will sink with the downfall of our empire in the States. But this the emulation, between those States and the Northern Powers of Europe, would remove; yet grant that there were no emulation, which could open a ready and a cheap supply for us, through the means of commercial intercourse, still Britain hath resources within her own dominions. Canada is covered with immeasurable tracts of wood, to extend and to maintain an Empire over the Ocean. The surface of the earth abounds with fuel. The mines of iron beneath are inexhaustible. Thus Nature by her productions challenges the industry of man. The dusky and uniform plains of Ireland, the trackless mountains of Scotland, and the idle deserts of Wales, have stores of iron within their bowels. There are not materials wanting, to furnish our fleets and armies in all their naval and military equipments. It is only requisite to turn our national pride, and ardour for conquest, from the objects of ambition, to the means of supporting it. This too will ensure our own preservation. And it may also ease that balance of trade which is against us. Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, draw from us our gold and silver; and, together with Russia, take but few of our productions and manufactures. But we consume their pro-

productions, injuring and neglecting our own; and while we aim too at a superiority in our own navy, we are promoting it in theirs. Hence also hath the balance of trade, between Britain and Russia, increased much of late in favor of the latter. And here a tribute of applause is due to a dignified name, which hath been mentioned before.

Lord Sheffield, stooping from the splendor of station, hath, with an industry that does honor to man, directed his views deeply into the dark and intricate paths of commerce. He deserves national gratitude. He obtains our personal respect. But tables of exports and imports, exhibited by inspectors of the customs, are not sure grounds for calculations on the balance of trade. They are fraught with fallacies. Some commodities exported are over-rated; and some commodities imported are under-rated. Quantities too are smuggled in and out of the Nation; and merchants also, according to the system of commercial chicanery, enter much greater quantities of goods than they really export, in order to discourage their fellow traders from resorting to the same market. But grant that, those tables are sufficiently accurate for the purpose of comparison, between distant periods and different nations, nay that, the statements are altogether just, yet there remain modes whereby, farther improvements in commerce may render future tables more pleasing to a British eye.

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We shall therefore enumerate those modes, and the calculations formed on them.

Were we to encourage the manufactures of lace, of silks, and velvets, and were we as anxious to be adorned in our own manufactures as, our progenitors were in the days of Queen Elizabeth, it would enrich this nation annually - - - 400,000

The consumption of muslins, and other manufactures of India, instead of French cambrics, cambric lawns, and other various articles which are smuggled - - 100,000

The prohibition of foreign linens, and a limitation of the consumption to English, Scotch, and Irish linens - - - 150,000

The encouragement of hemp and flax would retain within our Kingdom - - 200,000
And would relieve our landed interest of 2,500,000

The importation of China silk, in preference to Italian, and the manufacturing of it, &c. - - - 100,000

The iron manufacture - - - 90,000

Let the Ministers of Britain add to those benefits, the opening of Gibraltar as a free port. Leghorn hath furnished an example. St. Eustatia formed a wonderful scene, its beach being covered with an accumulation of commodities, when taken by Admiral Rodney. But Gibraltar dreads not a similar fate. And there, a low excise, easy duties, anchorage, and trifling port-charges, will defray the

the expence of our government. Gibraltar is sufficiently large to afford a receptacle for commodities. There is a space of ground, denominated the South Parade, which dips towards the Mediterranean, that is suitable for the purpose of erecting warehouses. And agents, residing on the mouth of the Straits, and collecting information, from ships that pass and repass, of what commodities are in request in Portugal, in Spain, and in the neighbouring nations, can immediately furnish them. By opening Gibraltar as a free port, we should reap other advantages. British commodities could be given, on credit, until those lodged in our warehouses be disposed of. The correspondents of Britain will be multiplied. She will have the necessary supply of all the productions of the Universe; and she will become the carrier, from nation to nation, of those commodities which are deposited with her for sale. But let no one extend this principle of free commerce against the Navigation Act. Even freedom is confined by limits. Liberty is a blessing, licentiousness a curse; and to destroy the Navigation Act would be a suicide of commerce upon itself. For the navy and the commerce of Britain can be but of equal duration. And it is this Navigation Act, this *Charta Maritima*, which forms the support of her marine power, which constitutes a naval basis for the freedom of Britain. Surrender the Navigation Act, and, Britons, you not only surrender the key of
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your commercial treasures, but you sacrifice the tutelary God that, protects your maritime power. It is on your Navigation Act that the destiny of Britain depends. But yet, your ambition should not soar to, nor hope for the universal Empire of the sea. For beyond a zenith is decline. But suppress, by duties, all foreign manufactures that, clash with, or check your own. Let not the enrichment and the exaltation of other nations be founded on the impoverishment and the depression of your's; and adopt that policy which, supports and is supported by frugality; which rouses, animates, and spreads abroad a spirit of industry.

Wise ministers will observe too, that there is a middle line to be followed between the State and the Subject. The one is to be eased of its debts, and the other is not to be oppressed by taxes. All systems of taxation should be formed with judgment, and breathe forth œconomy. Judgment is requisite, for the selection of the objects of taxation, œconomy in the collection of the taxes. The Dutch display their judgment in laying no taxes on the materials for manufactures, but chiefly on food and fuel. Hence, the necessities of the people compel them to work. And by the numbers who consequently are employed, and by the materials of the manufactures being unburdened by taxes, their cheapness and their quantity must enable this Nation to undersell any rival.

Taxes,

Taxes, on luxury, affect the rich part of society, and are salutary to a country ; but duties, on trade and manufactures, become burdens on the poor, and impoverish the State. The spirit of finance hath been ever an enemy to trade. Like the ivy that fastens on an oak, it ruins the commerce whereon it rises. But harmony is evident throughout the range of Nature. The institutions of moral and intellectual agents, themselves, and all existence, display, by a just concordance of events, the impartial power of a Supreme Being. The animal and vegetable kingdoms receive, with their existence, the seeds of death. Coeval with them, those seeds gather strength with their strength, flourish with their decay, and perish on their dissolution. Such is the system throughout creation, where animated matter, and the ordinances of intelligence, move in mutual harmony from their beginning to their end. But it is the part of posterity to support, and renovate all political ordinances that promote commerce, industry, and the wealth of subjects. Those three things constitute the treasures of a State. Here therefore the wisdom of our Administration will apply itself to lower such duties as affect the trade, the industry, and the poverty of this island ; and to equalize those that have a relation to Britain and Ireland, with a spirit of honesty that will not tend toward a baneful superiority of either. The trade of
Portugal

Portugal hath given rise to jealousy and clamour in the Sister Kingdom. It deserves some discussion.

As England and Ireland constitute one Empire, they should enjoy a mutual participation of privileges. Otherwise, reciprocity of interest is at an end; and an injury is done to the whole, by a sacrifice of part. The partiality, in admitting the woollens of Britain, and in objecting to those of Ireland, might have been the effect of secret policy in the year 1703. But, now, Britain wisely demands this restriction to be with-drawn. Yet Portugal adds insult to insult, by a denial in respect to that treaty, whose first establishment was derogatory to the wisdom of the Nation. We granted her peculiar privileges, for those general permissions, in trade, which other nations enjoyed. She refuses the request of Britain too, though the admission of Irish woollens must create a competition beneficial to the purchasers: she refuses it in favour of Ireland too, though Ireland, by giving a preference to her wines, hath increased the consumption of them, and hath imposed duties on those of France. But surely Ireland owes not this to Portugal. Her spirit and her interest must rouse her. She will consider that, she pays to Portugal 17 l. per pipe for her wine, while she can have that of a far superior quality from France for 6 l. per pipe. But there is another point which

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should unite the attention of England and Ireland.

It hath been * recommended to lower the duties on the importation of Russian sail-cloth. But rather let that duty on Irish sail-cloth be removed; which is a violation of that reciprocity of interest which alone can cement the commercial establishments between the two Nations. Before the date of this law, Ireland exported sail-cloth. Since that time she hath imported that commodity. But let a bounty be granted, on the exportation of it from Britain and Ireland, and the increase of the manufacture, and the consequent increase of exportation, will more than counterbalance the loss, which, it is said, we may perhaps sustain in the carriage of Russian sail-cloth to foreign markets. England and Ireland should advance hand in hand, and adjust all their measures for their mutual benefit. Had this been their principle of action, the sugar trade would not have occasioned so much turbulence and noise.

When France clogged every hundred weight of refined sugar that was sent home with a duty of 7s. when the deep reasoning of Colbert overshot its mark, by retaining at an exorbitant price the refinement of sugar, the art decayed, and the sugar trade sank. The refiners retired to distant Kingdoms, and their descendants now chiefly compose the

* Vid. Lord Sheffield on trade.

the sugar refiners of Ireland. Those men remember the fate of their forefathers. Several of them have relinquished the trade. Britain too should consider that, to injure a member, is to affect a whole body. Often too, when we are deprived of one member, Providence endows another with facility and strength to supply that loss. Let us apply this to the Empire.

America is severed from this Empire. And during the operation, Ireland was acquiring freedom and power. Now her thoughts should be directed to industry. Unhappily her sons have been too long blind. Dazzled by the splendor of luxury, and fascinated by the ostentatious display of pride, the high have not looked on the sufferings of those below them, and the humble have been oppressed to exalt their superiors still higher. To the farmers, a long train of subordinate and oppressive landlords, unequal taxes, all afford subjects too copious for this place. An universal abolition of tithes were for the good of the earth, and of man. It must be the desire of all pastors, and it would free their flocks from oppression. Also, the unalienable lands of the clergy raise up an host of injuries against the happiness of society. But by empowering them to make leases, similar to those given of the possessions of other men, this abuse may be corrected. Lands, whose tenure is of a short date, and estates, which are entailed, are seldom

dom improved. They are precarious possessions, whose fruits the proprietor and his heirs may not enjoy, after the labor and expence of cultivation.

As to the taxes of Ireland, that on hearths hath long been complained of as a grievance. For where the law, supposing there is a foundation for this complaint, even suspends its force, it opens a scene for the most cruel practise of fraud and avarice in the collector; who levying the tax on widows and orphans, pours the unjust profits into his private purse. Thus robbery is committed on the subject and the state, beneath the sanction of the law. A simple remedy could be suggested here; but the Legislature seems to lean toward one which, may arise from a Land-tax. And certainly throughout all the systems of taxation, there is no mode whereby the rights of the subject, and the interest of the state, are better supported, and more reciprocally united.

It hath been urged by superficial observation, and with more ostentation than truth in the remark, that the peasants of Ireland are an indolent race of men. Were facts to be recurred to, they would rise in numbers against this charge. But we shall pass from a review of the Irish in the distant quarters of the globe, to a consideration of them at home. There is a material difference between natural causes and moral effects. Those who make observations on men and things, should be able to distinguish

distinguish between effects, and thence to trace their causes. At present we shall rectify this mistake.

Riches alleviate the burden of labour, and reanimate the man exhausted by industry, in their pursuit. But if labour be not rewarded, by that wealth which softens the severity of it, the face of Nature may remain as it came out from the chaos, or was fashioned by the deluge; the powers of invention will not be drawn out and enlivened; and industry must be at a stand, because the natives are indigent. But they are indigent because they are idle: yes, and they are idle because labour and industry are not animated by reciprocal remunerations. In several parts of Ireland, land for potatoes, which constitute the general food of the peasants, brings 5 l. per acre. While on a general average of the wages paid to peasants, the estimation would be high at 5 d. per day. Can any system be more oppressive, more cruel, and absurd? Let some wise and good man, who wishes to accumulate riches, embrace in his system the happiness of his servants, and the wealth, arising from an increased number of labourers, who will flock to his fields, and extend his engagements, will much more than compensate for that addition, which humanity and sense should make to the wages of each individual.

Nature

Nature hath blessed Ireland with a fertile soil, and with a strong and an active race of men. But Nature is defeated by that branch of her sons, who enjoy her richest gifts. The husbandmen, who are of higher value to government than those endowed with the sharpest invention, or the most profound genius, are oppressed. Bowed down beneath a state of vassalage, by servitude and want, the peasant either abandons his fields, or rises against his tormentors, and the laws that permit them. Then the whole vengeance of the State is employed to support oppression. But its most sanguinary laws become engines of compassion. Rulers of Ireland, in the form of justice, you unsheathe her sword ! Your eyes too are bound by a bandage ; is it on this account that her scales are useless ? Rich men will proclaim, that there can be no happiness where there are such insurrections, such vices, against the State. Wise men will answer, that there will be insurrections and vices, where there is no happiness. Sunk, beneath the level of the beasts whom Nature feeds and clothes, bowed down by their tyrants, and destroyed by them when they rise, those peasants experience, in the last act of cruelty, the first of humanity. But neither moral nor political evil passes with impunity. If husbandmen constitute the life of a State, let the State look to it. For though a sense of their sufferings devote them not to death for
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rising against their wrongs, they live regardless and weary of existence. Their toils cannot procure support for themselves and their families. And as they, like other men, are liable to infirmity and disease, whence shall they, when stretched upon the bed of languishing, obtain succour for themselves, and subsistence for their wives and children? Can the mother, distracted by the groans of her husband, and without food for her own support, succour those infants that languish upon her bosom? They either perish in the dawn of life, or live to a weak maturity. All are the victims of oppression. And thus it is, ye Rulers of Ireland, that in a prolific country, population suffers in the strength and in the number of its inhabitants. But your remedy lies before you; it is the practice of England. Let the profits of the earth be divided in three portions. Take one yourselves; give the other two to the land and its cultivators.

Among other regulations which have lately been adopted for the improvement of Ireland, a privilege hath been given to Romanists to take long leases, in order to draw their money into circulation. But this object might be forwarded still farther, by a reduction of interest. For if interest be reduced, the money will be turned into other and more useful channels. It will be applied to agriculture and trade. At present, if the tradesman
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be necessitated to borrow money, he pays an high interest. With this interest, his manufactures are finally loaded; and the large profits, which he demands to repay this interest and his labour, give a latitude to the manufactures of rival Nations to undersell him. The interest on money, in Ireland, should be reduced. It would promote the end aimed at, by the privilege that was given to Romanists. And happy should we be to attribute this permission to a spirit of toleration, rather than to a selfish ordinance of policy. Yet, with an eye to population, policy should permit toleration. But the voice of nature, and of reason, must at length be heard. When systems of morality will not stamp their votaries as objects for the cruelty of mankind. Nor shall we, for the exterior forms of approaching the Deity, be formed by blind bigotry, into agents of an infernal power, and persecute every good man in that road, which he pursues to Heaven. Friends of Heaven! God is the Father of all! We are his children! Let each invoke him, as his conscience or his reason dictates; and let us live in the amity of brethren! Persecution is a monster, which assumes Heaven as its shield, and Religion as its spear, to cut off the sons of God and morality from the face of the earth. Away then, men of Ireland, with the unchristian spirit of intolerancy! Let humanity
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and reason open your * gates for the reception of men, and let them pursue happiness according to that moral system, which obtains their preference. Let your laws be weighed with an equal balance, not pressing down even on the atheist, and exalting the christian, nor humiliating the humble and elevating the high. But should a Politician urge, that the executive powers of government, the right of legislation, and the privilege of constituting legislators, should be centered in an unity of religion, he hath our assent. Our wish is a sanction for all sects, and equal and equitable laws, free from all distinctions ; impartial.

Persecuted by tyranny and bigotry, the presbyterians of Ireland abandoned their native soil, and repaired to New England. Skilled in the cultivation of flax and hemp, and instructed in the mode of manufacturing them, they communicated their knowledge to their protectors, and linens have since constituted one of the great resources of the colony. Such is the effect of oppression. But the wages of injustice and oppression, though slow, are sure. For the children of those men, have united with their own revenge, an atonement for the wrongs of their fathers. This event should instruct

* In some towns of Ireland, Romanists are not suffered to remain all night ; and over the gates of one city was an inscription, signifying, that a Turk, a Jew, or an Atheist, may enter there, but not a Papist.

Britain to adhere to that wise principle of reciprocity of interest in respect to Ireland. They are two branches of the same trunk; and a decay of the one, lessens the grandeur of the whole. It is a symptom of general malady, or of a radical disease, that will shortly reach the other. This moment, therefore, is a crisis to Ireland, in which Britain is involved. Her commerce should be established on an equitable footing, and tranquillity should be secured after those transitory troubles that arose from a virtuous cause, and which have breathed a justice and a vigour into the souls of the people. This sense of justice, and a consciousness of their power must insure the happiness of the Nation. All waters, after a storm, level insensibly to a calm; or, if necessary, those agitations can be smoothed by the hand of experience or philosophy. In the body politic, as in the body natural, diseases prove remedies. The days of Cromwell were a political fever, when many vitiated humours were thrown off. Every disorder of the constitution became notorious, and the remedies were understood. In Ireland, her volunteer associations have been an infringement on the laws and the state. But the times warranted them. And those troubles, which were partly produced by an aversion from tyranny, an upright and generous policy, persevering in the path of justice, may prevent from being inflamed into an impatience of authority.

authority. Those associations should be dissolved. Ireland! Steer not yourself by delusive dreams as to futurity, but by a retrospect of the past time: of what you were; of what you are; nay, and of what you may be, if guided by reason. Remember, that the property of military ardour is, finally to consume that generous sentiment of patriotism, whereby it is kindled. Like a flame that devours the object which it feeds on, military establishments ever have destroyed that country, and those citizens which gave them birth. The military Institutions of Ireland have been a disorder of a violent nature. But a sound constitution is proof to some assaults. And a first and a single malady is seldom mortal. At a certain degree of heat, the dregs, that corrupt fluid bodies, are cast off and subside. Let the governors of the people apply this process to them.

Amid the various revolutions to which the present times have given birth, Ireland hath profited. She hath gained advantages, of which a short-sighted jealousy had unjustly deprived her before. But Britain is doubly punished by the consequences. In the moment of meridian glory, she turned her face toward America, and her back upon Ireland; and all her warmth and her splendour reflecting on the other Hemisphere, Ireland was eclipsed. Being lost and obscured in Britain's shadow, the common productions, for which Nature had fitted her, were checked

checked by the fatal influence of her neighbour. Tobacco was forbidden to be cultivated. Now, with the loss of America, hath expired the monopoly of Britain. Or rather, Ireland, animated by a spirit of liberty, hath rent the interdiction asunder, and vanquished the tyranny that made it. But as darkness leaves a chill behind, so does oppression leave ignorance. The Irish in general are, as yet, unacquainted with the management of tobacco. This, the Government of Ireland must remedy, by promoting its cultivation; and by encouraging and supporting it in its infancy. That the climate of Ireland is suited to it, hath been proved; for it hath been grown in the county of Cork, and lately in the county of Limerick, in large quantities and with success. The snuff of Ireland too is in high request. And the price of labour is much lower than in America. The cultivation of tobacco also decreases in Virginia and Maryland. And the expence of freight to all parts of Europe, must be less from Ireland than from America. Here then is an extensive field opened for the prosperity of Ireland. But her rulers have lately been as remiss in promoting her interests, as Britain hath heretofore been unwise in checking them. We refer to the emigrants from Geneva.

The steps taken for the establishment of the Genevese, were suited neither to the times nor the undertaking. The advantage of individuals in
power

power was preferred to the good of the Nation ; and while the spirit and the situation of the Irish were unheeded, the genius of the emigrants was unconsulted. Had such been the conduct of the ministers of Elisabeth, when the Walloons and other artists sought an asylum in England, we could not, at this day, boast so great a progress in the manufactures of wool and other articles. Yet great as is this progress, the unwise policy of Britain hath raised up a formidable rival. Jealous of Ireland, Britain had shackled the woollen manufacture of the Sister Kingdom. The consequence was, that France imported the Irish wool. Hence several advantages were accumulated in favour of France. The productions of her country were taken in return for this wool ; her people were employed in manufacturing, with their own, the raw commodities collected from Ireland ; her navigation was engaged in carrying this wool, when wrought, into foreign markets ; whence she drew in exchange raw silk, the manufacturing of which occupied her people ; and was again exported to various parts of the globe. By such measures does France rival Italy in her silk, and Britain in her woollen manufactures.

The check given to the linen trade of France, by high duties, hath operated in favour of Germany, enriching them by the trade, and making the balance to preponderate against Britain. Formerly

merly the balance was more in her favour ; but since the importation of German linens hath taken place, she perceives a reverse. This deserves some consideration.

The importation of German linens is, by some, supposed to be more extensive, at this moment, than heretofore. This operates against Ireland by the encouragement of her rival ; it operates against Scotland, who is rising in the linen branch ; it operates against England, by the superiority it affords against her in trade. Add to the advantages arising to Germany, from the admission of her linens into the ports of Britain, the disadvantages Britain sustains from a prohibition, laid on several of her woollen manufactures, by some of the German States, and upon all by others. Does not this statement of the commerce of Britain, demonstrate the necessity for some resolution in respect to the linen trade ? If the interests of Ireland, of Scotland, and herself, be regarded, German linens will be prohibited. For this will also either banish a superfluity, or, if there be not a superfluity, it will gain the manufacture to Britain and Ireland.

Ireland should be viewed in three points by Britain ; and each merits her most serious attention. First, she should regard her as to her produce and manufactures ; secondly, as to her situation for commerce ; thirdly, as to the supply of strength,

strength, offensive, and defensive, which she affords against the enemies of Britain. Those considerations must swell Ireland to an object of magnitude and high importance. She rises a bulwark, beyond the barrier of Britain. Her military establishment is 12,000 men. She assisted Britain with a supply of 4000 men in America, during the late war. She abounds with ports for commerce; with materials for industry; with men for soldiers; and with pastures for flocks. Yet, extraordinary and lamentable it is, that while she furnishes surrounding nations with food and clothing, her own peasants are ill clothed, and worse fed, than those of any other nation in Europe. But as, on the extent of her exports her supply of sailors hath been founded, Britain should beware of encouraging, by her commercial systems, a competition in the American States, that, by ruining the trade of Ireland, must injure her own naval power. The trade and the wealth of Ireland are of the nearest concern to Britain.

It hath been supposed, that one third of the Rents of Ireland centre in Britain. Add to this the sums spent by those in pursuit of education, or of pleasures; and by those occasionally resorting to the seat of government. What sums also are drawn from the Irish revenues by those who are residents in Britain. Were a calculation to be formed of the money expended in one small city

city of England, by the Irish, in the course of a week, it must excite astonishment. During part of the winter of 1785, there were supposed to be in Bath 20,000 strangers. But let the calculation be formed on the number of 15,000. Each of those, on a general average of station and total expence, must have spent 4l. per week. Two thirds of the strangers were likewise supposed to be Irish. But grant, that only one half was Irish. This estimate therefore produces a sum of 30,000l. expended by the Irish, during the course of a week in one small city of England. But to what must such a calculation in respect to London amount? Britain! if you have lost a jewel in America, you possess a mine in Europe! Improve it.

The West India Islands are a treasure to both Britain and Ireland. For while they are dependant on them, they also contribute a mutual support. The planters of Brazil, being outdone by the emulation of the British planters, Portugal resigned the sugar trade to Britain, and directed her researches into the bowels of the earth, where mines of gold have filled her expectations. Encouraged by the success of Britain, France was roused to industry. A supply of sugar was brought home, sufficient for their consumption; and a commerce took place, that enriched them with considerable treasure. Success is a spur to industry:

France

France flourished. Power is defeated by its own conquests, and commerce dies a victim to those riches which it accumulates : England hath fallen. But if the Ministers of Britain will not be ruled, by the avaricious dictates of wealthy and monopolizing planters, the same road is open for acquiring a superiority over the French, that crowned her emulation with the Portuguese. Britain cannot devote too much attention to her West India Islands. They support navigation by various modes of intercourse. But, Men of Britain ! Watch your Navigation Act ; it is the Palladium of your naval power ! Those islands strengthen not only the maritime, but the internal force of Britain : for they promote industry in the mother country. They support her fisheries abroad ; they encourage trade and agriculture at home, taking from her, wearing apparel, implements of husbandry, and provisions. Enumerate with those advantages, that by their connections with Africa and America, other passages to wealth are opened for Britain. Britain beheld through a medium of supply and navigation, which is formed by those Islands, is magnified into a great object in a commercial view. Those, which constitute her importance, are consequently entitled to her most sedulous care.

In respect to those Islands, an active and interfering wisdom is much wanted, which, like a
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wheel

wheel constructed by an able mechanist, would communicate motion to every power that could strengthen his system, and accelerate the movements of industry. Cultivation should be promoted and extended in our Islands. This industry is, in these times, become necessary: before this period, it was merely optional. For then it depended on the avaricious cravings of the mind; now the preservation of the Islands is at stake. A new and aspiring Empire hath sprung up on the North-west limits of her seas.

Composed of the sons of men, who had flown, for the sake of liberty, from the oppressive tyranny of Sovereigns, or from the intolerant spirit of bigotry, who preferred freedom in frightful solitudes, to slavery in their native soil; composed of men fired with the spirit of enterprize and ambition; composed of men, whose atrocious and criminal fortitude was doomed, by the lenity of Britain, to be expiated by transportation and service in America; composed of such free and daring souls, the Americans may, perhaps, exhibit in the eighteenth century, the origin of a second Rome. In their States are descendants of warlike Germans enjoying liberty, whose fathers were driven by persecution from their Palatinate. Here are sons of the martial Swedes, proud in their freedom. Here are the orderly and æconomical Dutch, laborious in the pursuit of property. And here are English, and French, in full possession of both.

Will

Will such aspiring spirits be content? Or men, whose freedom had gained an asylum from civil or religious oppression; characters, whose enterprize had acquired riches; persons, whose punishments had been improved into the property of virtue; men, whose different systems, as to Church, clashed not with their principles, as to the State; but who formed an union in establishments of liberty and property, could not coolly look on, while their charters were tearing asunder; while the justice of Nations was trampled on; and while sons of freedom, launching out into licentiousness, were forging chains for them. America was abused. But Britain hath been sold. Walpole asserted, that corruption, rooted in every man's heart, overshadowed this whole Island. Were he living, he might extend his assertion with his views, and behold, with streaming eyes, its effects in America. Where avarice, treachery, and the slaughter of our men, call aloud for national justice. It is an expiation due to those who have fallen a devoted sacrifice to their country. It is an atonement due to Britain. It may be an example to posterity.

Would that some daring spirit, fired with enthusiasm and glory, had plunged his sword into that breast which basely sold the honour of its country, its country's greatness, the lives of thousands, and the happiness of millions for the sake of lucre. His conduct ought to have been transmitted to succeeding

ceeding ages, in characters of his own blood. But this wish of our soul, this glowing invocation is levelled only against the foul practises of dishonor, not against the struggles for freedom. No ! May it be as universal as existence, and as eternal in its duration. But the charge of more zeal than prudence may, perhaps, be laid against us here : and the doctrine be decried as dangerous. Away with such secondary principles of action ! Reason, Justice, Example, are our threefold protection. Had the spirit of some Britain been inspired by Roman enthusiasm to so noble a sacrifice, he would have been shielded by the sanction of justice, though he violated the form. The Valerian law punished the enemies of the State with death, and resorted not to the slow process of Justice, till the traitor was executed. And says Ulpian, the renowned Lawyer, “ when * we have just cause that, does not admit of delay, we are permitted to punish, not to hasten the punishment, but to prevent the danger, and afterwards to enter on the formalities of accusation.” If a man attempt to deprive us of our wealth, or of our life, we are justified in destroying him. What then should have been his due, who was robbing the Nation not only of her treasures, but of her people, nay and thousands of her subjects
of

* ——— Vel alia, justa causa, moram non recipiunt non pœnæ festinatione, sed præveniendi periculi causa punire permittit, deinde scribere. Ulpian.

of their lives. Other * crimes you may prosecute, when they have been perpetrated; but unless you guard against the commission of this, in vain will you afterwards resort to judgment. On Cato's opinion therefore do we stand. And with his spirit do we assume the sentiment of Fortitude; † were the fabric of this world breaking around me, I should stand unawed amidst the mighty ruin.

“ *Heu quantum terræ potuit Pelagique parari
Hoc quem civiles fuderunt sanguine dextra.*”

But though Britain may not procure, let her preserve Empire. The fate of her West-India Islands is in a balance, and the sword of America may turn the scale. They rise up at present as restraints to the extent of the Empire of the States. But revolutions turn on power and ambition. Are the Islands able to oppose both? Slaves enervated by the sun, and worn out by toil, have neither strength nor inclination for resistance. The plans therefore and operations of Britain should undergo a change in and out of those settlements. Oppression should be banished, cultivation be extended, and industry be rewarded. And as, between flourishing colonies and mother countries, there is a reciprocal ratio, that

* *Cætera enim maleficia tunc persequare cum facta sunt,
hoc nisi provideris ne accadat ubi evenit frustra judicia explores.*
SAL. Bel. Cat.

† “ *Si fractus illabatur orbis Impavidum ferient ruinæ.*”

that holds in wealth and population, both must be increased, at home, and abroad, by such an alteration of system. It is on the increase of industry and population, that the sole support of the British Empire can be founded. Her strength and her salvation are her navy. Britain you arose from the Ocean into splendour ; and it is there too your glory will set.

Thus have we laboured for the good of mankind. To whose benefit and use, intelligence was consecrated by the Divinity himself. If our ardour hath been high, we plead youth : if our zeal hath been excessive, judges ! before whose tribunal we bow, your happiness was our object : we submit ourselves to your reproach. Our course hath been through an extensive horizon, and we have not been able to rest, but merely to touch, on the summit of objects. Some more powerful and comprehensive minds may explore more deeply, and work out accomplished ends from those and such other weak beginners. For it is from streams that the ocean derives its depths ; it is from minute particles that mountains rise into magnificence ; from atoms, that the universe collects its greatness.

